

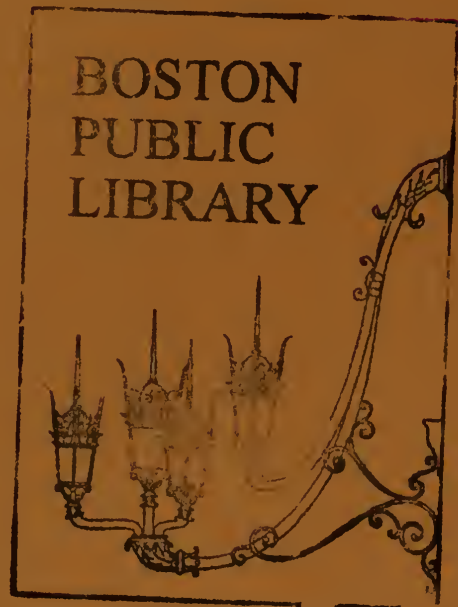
~~Property of~~  
~~BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY~~  
~~Library~~

**BOSTON'S NEW HIGH-RISE OFFICE BUILDINGS:  
A STUDY OF THE EMPLOYEES AND THEIR HOUSING PREFERENCES**

Robert Earsy, Kent Colton

Boston Redevelopment Authority  
Research Department  
Community Renewal Program

July 1974



Kevin H. White, Mayor  
City of Boston

Robert T. Kenney, Director  
Boston Redevelopment Authority

Alexander Ganz  
Research Director



**BOSTON'S NEW HIGH-RISE OFFICE BUILDINGS:  
A STUDY OF THE EMPLOYEES AND THEIR HOUSING PREFERENCES**

Robert Earsy, Kent Colton

Boston Redevelopment Authority  
Research Department  
Community Renewal Program

July 1974

Kevin H. White, Mayor  
City of Boston

Robert T. Kenney, Director  
Boston Redevelopment Authority

Alexander Ganz  
Research Director



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study here reported was funded by the Community Renewal Program. It was initiated by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department, as one part of the overall community renewal program effort directed toward the development of a housing policy for the City of Boston.

The sample design questionnaire testing, and administration of the survey were carried out for the Boston Redevelopment Authority by the Survey Research Program, a facility of the University of Massachusetts - Boston and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University. The attention and effort on the part of Dr. Floyd J. Fowler and other S.R.P. staff personnel is gratefully acknowledged. The actual interpretation and analysis of the survey data as reflected in this volume was done by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department.



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2012 with funding from  
Boston Public Library

<http://www.archive.org/details/bostonsnewhighri00bost>

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE WHO WORK IN THE DOWNTOWN OFFICE BUILDINGS	7
Business and Occupational Composition	8
Household Income Levels	13
Age and Sex Composition	15
Years with Present Firm	15
Jobs Held By Boston Resident Office Workers	18
III. RESIDENTIAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	21
Boston Resident Office Workers	21
Location within Boston	22
Length of Tenure	24
Household Characteristics	26
Age and Sex Distribution	26
Household Composition, Presence of Children, and Multiple Worker Households	30
Income of Boston Resident Office Workers	35
Residential Location Preferences	37
Transportation to Work	40
Likelihood of Moving	44
Outside of Boston	46
Occupation and Income	47
Incidence of Multiple Adult and Multiple Worker Households	50
Age Comparison	52
Presence of Children	54
IV. HOUSING IMPLICATIONS	59
Attitudes Toward Living in Boston	60
Previous Residence in Boston	66
Potential Demand for Downtown Housing in Boston	71
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	75

(Continued)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE OFFICE WORKER SURVEY

Appendix B



## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

<u>Figure/Table Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Figure I-1	Boston Jobs-Past and Projected	2
Figure IV-1	Age of Respondents, at Time of Moving from Boston	68
Table I-1	Buildings Included in Office Worker Survey	5
Table II-1	Employment, By Industry and By Occupational Groups of the Surveyed Office Workers	9
Table II-2	Employment by Occupation, of Boston's Resident Labor Force, of All Office Workers, and of Boston Resident Office Workers	10
Table II-3	Comparisons of Employment by Occupation	11
Table II-4	Income Levels of Office Worker Households By Occupation Groups, of all Boston Households, and of all Boston Metropolitan Area Households	14
Table II-5	Office Workers, Total Boston Resident Labor Force and Total Residential Labor Force in Boston and SMSA by Age	16
Table II-6	Office Workers and City of Boston Resident Labor Force by Occupation and by Sex	16
Table II-7	Office Workers by Occupation and by Number of Years with Present Firm	17
Table II-8	Residential Location of Those Who Live in Boston	20
Table III-1	Boston Resident Office Worker's Place of Residence Within Boston	23
Table III-2	Boston Resident Office Workers by Length of Residential Tenure	25
Table III-3	Age Distribution of Total Boston Resident Labor Force and of Boston Resident Office Workers	27
Table III-4	Boston Resident Office Workers by Sex and Occupational Groupings	29

<u>Figure/Table Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table III-5	Boston Resident Office Workers Household Composition and Residential Area	31
Table III-6	Boston Resident Office Worker Households: Presence of Children by Residential Area	32
Table III-7	Boston Resident Office Worker Households: Presence of Children by Worker Age Group	32
Table III-8	Boston Resident Office Workers, Incidence of Multiple Worker Households By Age Group and Sex of Worker	34
Table III-9	Income Comparisons	36
Table III-10	Boston Resident Office Workers by Importance of Factors Influencing Choice of Residence	38
Table III-11	Boston Resident Office Workers and Boston Core Area High Rise Residents by Satisfaction With Daily Work Trip	41
Table III-12	Boston Resident Office Workers and City of Boston Residents by Principal Mode of Transportation Employed in Daily Work Trip	42
Table III-13	Office Workers and City of Boston Residents by Number of Cars per Household	43
Table III-14	Boston Resident Office Workers and all Boston Residents by Likelihood of a Move in the Next Year or Two	45
Table III-15	Office Workers by Occupation and by Residential Location	48
Table III-16	Office Workers Annual Household Income by Occupational Grouping and Place of Residence	49
Table III-17	Office Workers: Incidence of Multiple Adult Households and Multiple Worker Households by Residential Location	51
Table III-18	Office Workers by Age and by Residential Location	53
Table III-19	Office Workers: Distribution of Households With Children Present by Residential Location and by Occupational Groupings	56

<u>Figure/Table Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table III-20	Office Workers with Children, by Age Groups and by Residential Location	57
Table III-21	Office workers Living Outside of Boston by Annual Household Income and Presence of Children Compared with Boston Resident Office Workers and All Office Workers	58
Table IV-1	Office Workers Living Outside of Boston by Likelihood of Moving to Boston in the Next Year or Two	61
Table IV-2	Office Workers Who Do Not Now Live In Boston By Reasons for Not Wanting to Move to Boston	62
Table IV-3	Office Workers by Those Indicating "Very Important" to Various Factors Influencing Residential Location	64
Table IV-4	Office Workers Living in the Outer Suburbs by those Indicating "Very Important" to Various Factors Influencing Residential Location and by Presence of Children in Household	65
Table IV-5	Office Workers By Occupational Groups, by Number of Years Ago that Worker Moved from Boston, and by Residential Location	67
Table IV-6	Office Workers Who had at One Time Had Lived in Boston by Reasons Cited for Leaving Boston	70
Table IV-7	Office Workers, Not Living in Boston, Without Children and with Annual Household Incomes Exceeding Indicated Amounts As A Percentage of All Office Workers	74



## I INTRODUCTION

The Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department has a continuing interest and responsibility in the planning and development of jobs and housing for Boston. As a result of the City's encouragement of economic development in the downtown in the early sixties and the private sector response, the city has experienced a very large growth in the number of new office buildings and in office employment.<sup>(1)</sup> Within the last 25 years, the City's economy has undergone a dramatic shift from manufacturing to office-service domination. Jobs in Boston have been rising since the early 1960's, after falling in the 1950's, but most notably, the share of jobs in office building has increased dramatically; rising from 28 per cent in 1950 to over 40 percent of all jobs in 1974. (See Figure I-1). The prognosis for the future suggests a growth in the total number of jobs in Boston and an increase in the share of office building jobs.<sup>(2)</sup>

---

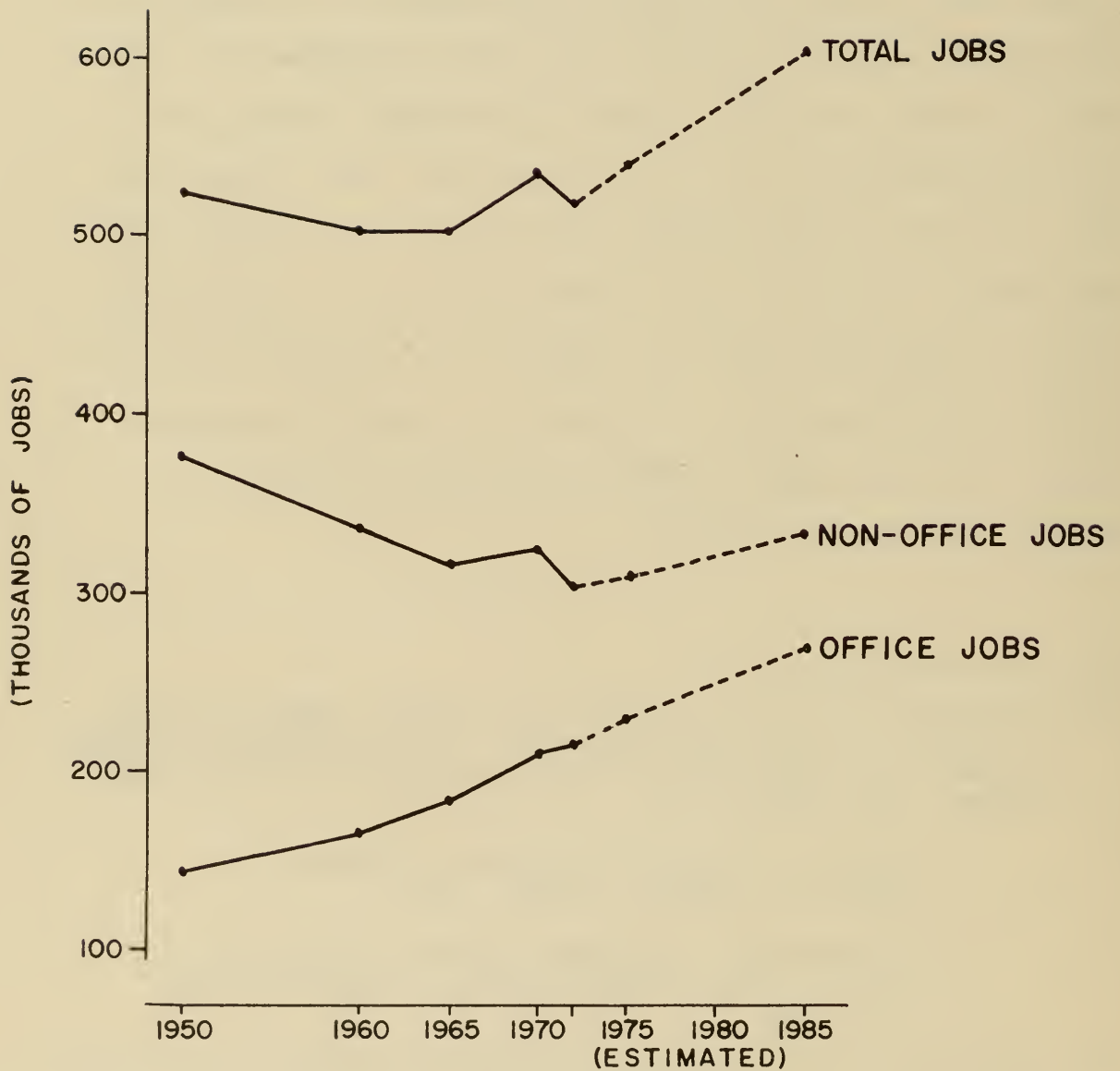
(1) The variety of factors, nationally and locally, behind the growth of Boston's service economy and boom in office building are covered in other Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Department publications. For example, see:

"Boston's Development Prospects: Commitment to the City's Future." January, 1973.

Alexander Ganz and Thomas O'Brien, "New Directions for our Cities in the Seventies", Technology Review, June, 1974.

(2) For projections of the future job situation in Boston, see "Boston's 1975-85 General Plan". (In preparation)  
For an analysis of the net increase in new jobs, see "Boston's Office Industry; Office Space Demand and Supply, Past and Projected". (In preparation); "Summary Tables and Charts"; currently available.

FIGURE I-1  
**BOSTON JOBS**  
(PAST AND PROJECTED)



SOURCE: BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY,  
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, JULY, 1974.



Such a change in the composition of Boston's jobs raises a number of social and economic questions relating to the benefits and costs of the shift to an office-based economy. This paper investigates a number of questions derived from two broad issues: 1) how do the jobs in the new office building directly serve existing Boston residents? and 2) what are the relationships between office employment and housing needs? These issues in turn generate related questions explored in some detail herein:

- Who works in the office towers and what types of jobs are provided by the firms in these buildings; to what extent do these jobs match the job skills of Boston's resident work force?
- How does the proportion of Boston residents with office jobs compare with the proportion of Boston residents in the City's total labor force?
- How do Boston resident office workers differ from the non-Boston resident office workers in terms of their household characteristics and attitudes influencing their residential choices?

To explore the shift to office employment in the context of the preceding questions, a survey of office employees was conducted during January, 1973.<sup>(3)</sup> The survey population selected consisted of the employees in the new office buildings, within Boston (completed since approximately 1960). Table I-1 lists these office buildings along with the approximate occupancy dates, the number of firms or agencies occupying the buildings and the estimated number of employees who work in these buildings. The survey covered 29 buildings, with over 544 firms and agencies, and approximately 45,000 office workers. From this employee population, a representative sample of 298 employees was interviewed. The interviews were conducted by telephone with the interviewees at their place of employment.<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
- (3) This survey was conducted to obtain new data and information to complement and extend the results of a 1969 study which was based upon a survey of employers in three selected office building complexes (Prudential, Merchants Bank, and Center Plaza). This previous survey investigated five basic socio-economic areas relative to employee characteristics:

- occupations
- wages
- race and sex
- age
- residential location

The 1969 survey results are presented in "A Demographic Revolution: The Impact of Office Buildings and Residential Tower Development in Boston," B.R.A. Research Dept., Thomas O'Brien and Alexander Ganz, January, 1973.

The 1969 Survey, although providing useful information, did not allow for cross-tabulations between the preceding characteristics because of the data aggregation methods used. To overcome this difficulty and to include a more comprehensive range of office buildings, the present broader and more detailed survey effort was conducted with the objective of obtaining a still more accurate assessment of characteristics of people who will be attracted to work in the jobs now emerging in the city and the nature of their housing demands.

- (4) The detailed survey, methodology, including survey design, pre-testing sampling, etc., are presented in Appendix A. Appendix B consists of a copy of the final questionnaire used to perform the survey.



TABLE I-1

BUILDINGS INCLUDED IN OFFICE WORKER SURVEY

<u>Building (Popular Name)</u>	<u>Approximate Occupancy Date</u>	<u>Number of Firms or Agencies*</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Employees**</u>
1. State Street Bank Building	1966	32	4,260
2. One Center Plaza	66	31	892
3. Two Center Plaza	67	29	889
4. Three Center Plaza	69	37	880
5. Travelers	59	29	1,224
6. Mass General Life	66	5	280
7. Blue Cross	58	1	500
8. Mass Teachers Building	68	9	162
9. New England Merchants Bank	68	36	3,691
10. Royal Globe	68	7	397
11. City Bank	69	18	240
12. Sears Cresent	69	10	167
13. Boston Company	70	71	2,538
14. Bulfinch Place	70	4	345
15. First National Bank	71	15	5,237
16. Keystone	71	15	2,829
17. Old City Hall	71	16	286
18. One Washington Mall	72	9	360
19. Prudential Center	64	62	4,933
20. Prudential South	71	2	1,825
21. 500 Boylston	67	12	311
22. McGraw Hill	60	22	191
23. I.B.M.	60	2	465
24. White Fund	57	5	211
25. 2 Charlesgate West	68	2	87
26. JFK Federal Building	66	24	4,112
27. City Hall	69	NA	3,000
28. C.F. Hurley	70	NA	1,300
29. Leverett Saltonstall	65	39	4,000
TOTALS		544+	45,612

\* The number of employees and firms or agencies as of January 1973. See Appendix A for the method for estimating number of employees.

The analysis which follows is divided into four sections: (1) an examination and description of the overall employment characteristics of the office employees: who the workers are; type of jobs, age, household income; (2) an investigation of where the office employees live, exploring different households types and occupations; (3) an evaluation of factors influencing residential location choices, emphasizing the housing implications of the office boom for the city; and (4) a summary and discussion of conclusions which may be drawn from this study.

## II. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE WHO WORK IN THE NEW DOWNTOWN OFFICE BUILDINGS

An important dimension of the office building phenomenon in Boston are the characteristics of the workers employed in these structures, and the extent and nature of jobs held by them.

For the purposes of this study, it is useful to define three principal sub groups of workers by place of residence and whether they work specifically in the downtown office building or are part of the overall labor force.

The first group, denominated "Boston resident office workers" live in the City and work in the office towers. The second group, called "nonresident office workers," live outside Boston and work in the office towers. The third group includes the entire resident labor force of Boston, denominated "Total Boston resident labor force," and is utilized here chiefly as a control group for drawing comparisons about the occupational characteristics of the first group of Boston resident office workers.

This section will present an overview description of the employment characteristics (occupations, incomes, ages, etc.) of all the office workers in the new downtown office buildings, concluding with a discussion of the relationships between office jobs and Boston's resident labor force.

## Business and Occupational Composition

Over 90 percent of the surveyed downtown office employees were found to be working in the fields of government, finance, insurance, real estate, services, and law-related activities. Table II-1.<sup>(5)</sup>

Because of the sophisticated and complex character of these business activities, one would expect this work force to be highly skilled relative to the general labor force. The survey results confirm such an expectation. Forty percent of the sampled office workers are managers and professionals, 53 percent are clerical, 4 percent are sales, and the remaining 3 percent are craftsmen, foremen, operatives, laborers and other occupations. This differs markedly with the entire City of Boston labor force with approximately 45 percent in this latter occupational category. Table II-2.

A comparison of the occupational composition of the surveyed office workers, with other data sources, is instructive in terms of investigating the extent of any sample biases. These results are presented in Table II-3, which compares this recent survey with two other sources of occupational distributions for Boston office workers.<sup>(6)</sup>

- 
- (5) A more comprehensive and detailed report on the business and occupational aspects of office development in Boston will be presented in a forthcoming report, "Boston's Office Industry; Office Space Supply and Demand, Past and Projected." Op. cit.
- (6) One source of information on occupation composition was the BRA survey of office firms in the Prudential Center, Center Plaza, and Merchants Bank office complexes, conducted during the Summer of 1969. ("A Demographic Revolution." Op. cit.) About 11,500 jobs were classified by skill, by the employers in these buildings. Although the survey did not encompass all the same office buildings as the January 1973 survey it does show comparable results.

The other data source indicated in Table II-3 was obtained by applying the percent distribution of occupation by business activity category, given by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to the firms and agencies in the January 1973 survey. While not completely independent, since it utilized the associated sample of firms in which the surveyed workers were employed, it nevertheless shows that the extent of the combination of coding and classification steps involved in both the BLS and BRA surveys, is not excessive.

TABLE II-1

EMPLOYMENT, BY INDUSTRY AND BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS,  
OF THE SURVEYED OFFICE WORKERS

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Managers &amp; Professionals</u> (N=117)	<u>Clericals &amp; Others</u> (N=172)	<u>All Occupations</u> (N=289)
Government			
Federal	8.6%	10.5%	9.7%
State	8.6	7.0	7.6
Local	10.3	1.7	5.2
Construction	1.7	1.7	1.7
Manufacturing	3.4	1.2	2.1
Communication	8.6	5.8	6.9
Retail Sales	2.6	0.0	1.0
Services to Business	18.8	7.6	12.1
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	29.1	51.7	42.6
Professional Services to Public	8.6	11.6	10.4
Other	0.0	1.2	0.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE II-2

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION, OF BOSTON'S RESIDENT LABOR FORCE,  
OF ALL OFFICE WORKERS AND OF BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS

	<u>Total Boston Resident Labor Force*</u>	<u>Office Workers</u>	
		<u>Surveyed Office Buildings Total</u> (N=289)	<u>Boston Resident Office Workers</u> (N=91)
Professional & Technical	16.8%	21.8%	9.9%
Managerial	5.6	18.7	15.4
Clerical & Secretarial	26.9	52.6	68.1
Sales	5.7	3.8	4.4
Craftsmen & Foremen	10.2	.3	.0
Operatives	13.8	.0	.0
Laborers & Service	20.2	1.0	1.1
Other	.8	1.7	1.1
TOTAL	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%

---

\* 1970 U. S. Census



TABLE II-3

## COMPARISONS OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION

Data Sources	Occupations								
	Professional and Technical	Managerial	Sub Total; Professional, Technical and Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen and Foremen	Operatives Laborers Service and Other	Sub Total; Craftsmen, Foremen, Operative, Laborers, Service and Other	Total
January 1973 BRA Survey*	21.8%	18.7%	40.5%	52.6%	3.8%	0.3%	2.7%	3.0%	100.0%
S.I.C. Matrix analysis of January 1973 Survey Firms and Agencies.**	17.5%	17.8%	35.3%	41.9%	9.2%	( 13.6%	)	13.6%	100.0%
Previous (Summer of 1969) B.R.A. Survey of Employers.**	24.5%	11.8%	36.3%	47.5%	6.3%	1.5%	8.4%	9.9%	100.0%

\* The most recent survey, and primary source of data for this report.

\*\* Obtained by assigning an S.I.C. two digit classification to each firm or agency within the 29 office buildings of the January 1973 B.R.A. survey. The B.L.S. occupational distribution for each S.I.C. classification was then weighted, by the estimated number of employees in each S.I.C. classification, to arrive at the occupational distribution of all the office employees.

\*\*\* Source: "A Demographic Revolution: The Impact of Office Buildings and Residential Tower Development in Boston." B.R.A. Research Department, Thomas O'Brien and Alexander Ganz, January 1973.

An approximate correspondence in occupational distribution is shown in Table II-3 between these different data sources. Sales workers and the blue collar occupations are somewhat under-represented (9 to 16 per cent) in the recent BRA survey relative to the other sources of worker occupational distributions.<sup>(7)</sup> Essentially what these comparisons indicate is that the survey population reported in this volume consists of the vast majority of office building employees, who not only are employed by the firms in the new office buildings, but who are physically working in offices.

---

(7) This under-representation may be a reflection of the selection of the office worker survey sample. The basic approach was to use the employee lists (which in some cases were based upon firm's internal telephone directories) and the practical requirement that employees had to have the office building as their principal daily place of employment. These two constraints would tend to produce a lower incidence in the sample of those sales persons who are on the road most of the time and therefore not available for interviews, and of craftsmen and laborers, not listed in a firm's telephone directory and thus excluded from the sample population.



### Household Income Levels

The household incomes of those who work in the office towers is considerably higher than of those of the City's households. Over 70% of the office worker households had annual gross incomes exceeding \$10,000 and 46% had incomes exceeding \$15,000 per year. These data contrast sharply with the income distribution of Boston households. In 1970, only 35% of Boston's households had annual gross incomes exceeding \$10,000 and 14% had incomes exceeding \$15,000.<sup>(8)</sup> See Table II-4. One factor contributing to the higher household incomes of the office workers is that over 60 percent of these households have another full or part time employed adult in the labor force.<sup>(9)</sup>

Table II-4 also shows that the household incomes of the households in the entire Boston metropolitan area are closer to the household income distribution of the office worker's household incomes. This suggests that the relatively higher concentration of students, elderly, and others with low incomes in the city, tends to depress the City's overall household income distribution.

The expected effect of skill levels on income distributions, is also shown in Table II-4. Over 30 percent of the clerical households compared to less than 3 percent managers and professionals, have incomes of less than \$8,000 per year.

---

(8) This contrast in income distributions would be partially reduced by the inflation of the dollar during the 3 years between the census and the survey. However, the previous BRA survey, conducted during the Summer of 1969, showed a similar contrast between the wage levels of office workers and household incomes of the City's households.

(9) The incidence of multiple workers in office worker households will be discussed more fully in subsequent sections of this report.

TABLE II-4

INCOME LEVELS OF OFFICE WORKER HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION GROUPS,  
OF ALL BOSTON HOUSEHOLDS, AND OF ALL BOSTON METROPOLITAN AREA HOUSEHOLDS

<u>Income Levels</u>	<u>Office Worker Households</u>			<u>Boston Households</u>	<u>Boston Metropolitan Area Households</u>
	<u>Managers and Professionals</u> (N=112)	<u>Clericals and Others</u> (N=159)	<u>Office Worker Total</u> (N=271)	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Less than \$7,999	2.7%	31.5%	19.6%	50.6%	36.3%
\$ 8,000-\$ 9,999	2.7	13.2	8.9	14.5	12.4
10,000- 14,999	30.4	22.6	25.8	21.0	26.8
15,000- 24,999	41.2	27.0	32.8	11.0	18.2
25,000 & Over	23.2	5.7	12.9	2.9	6.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Median	\$17,380	\$11,214	\$14,178	\$7,835	\$10,252

### Age and Sex Composition

The age distribution of all office workers relative to the 1970 distribution of Boston's resident labor force, shows more workers between 25 and age 40 than the total Boston resident labor force distribution. See Table II-5. Characteristics differences between the manager/professional and clerical occupations may help explain this difference in age distributions. The increased education and time requirements for manager/professional occupations may explain why only 7% of this group fall into the under 25 age group, while 34% of clericals are under 25. A high percentage of clericals are females, whose work career patterns after marriage tend to be interrupted during the child-bearing years, thus reducing the number of clericals in the over 25 age group from what it would be otherwise.

An examination of the sex ratio of these employees shows that the sexes are approximately equally represented in the office worker group. See Table II-6. However, in terms of the ratio within occupational groupings, a lopsided relationship is evident, showing over 80 percent of the manager and professional jobs and only 25 percent of the clerical and other occupations held by males.

### Years With Present Firm

The median length of stay with current employer was 4.3 years for all of the of the office workers surveyed. However, the greater job stability typically associated with the higher skilled manager/professional occupations is clearly demonstrated by comparing their median stay time with that of clerical and other occupations: 9 vs. 3 years respectively. See Table II-7.

TABLE II-5

OFFICE WORKERS, TOTAL BOSTON RESIDENT LABOR FORCE AND  
TOTAL RESIDENTIAL LABOR FORCE IN BOSTON AND SMSA BY AGE

Age Group (Years)	Surveyed Office Workers			1970 City of Boston Resident Labor Force*	1970 SMSA Resident Labor Force**
	Managers & Professionals (N=117)	Clericals & Others (N=170)	All Occupations (N=287)		
16-19	0.9%	5.3%	3.5%	9.3%	8.1%
20-24	6.0	28.2	19.2	17.6	13.7
25-34	31.6	28.2	29.6	18.4	18.7
35-44	16.2	8.2	11.5	15.5	18.8
45-54	23.9	11.2	16.4	18.1	20.5
55-64	18.8	12.9	15.3	15.3	15.1
64+	2.6	5.9	4.5	6.0	5.1
Total	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.2%	100.0%
Median (Years)	42.1	30.9	34.2	38.0	40.1

TABLE II-6

OFFICE WORKERS AND TOTAL BOSTON RESIDENT LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND BY SEX

Sex	SURVEYED OFFICE WORKERS			1970 City of Boston Resident Labor Force
	Managers and Professionals (N=116)	Clerical And Others (N=172)	All Occupations (N=228)	
Male	80.2%	25.6%	47.6%	54.6%
Female	19.8%	74.4%	52.4%	45.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\* Source: 1970 U.S. Census, Journey to Work, Table 2, page 358.

\*\* Source: 1970 U.S. Census, Journey to Work, Table 2, Page 323.

TABLE II-7

OFFICE WORKERS BY OCCUPATION AND BY NUMBER OF YEARS WITH PRESENT FIRM

<u>Years</u>	<u>Managers and Professionals</u> (N=117)	<u>Clerical &amp; Others</u> (N=172)	<u>All Occupations</u> (N=289)
0-6 mos.	0.9%	14.5%	9.0%
6 mos.-1 yr.	7.7	11.1	9.7
1-2 yrs.	2.6	12.8	8.7
2-3 yrs.	7.7	11.6	10.0
3-4 yrs.	10.3	11.6	11.1
4-5 yrs.	6.8	6.4	6.6
5-10 yrs.	17.1	14.5	15.6
10-15 yrs.	11.1	4.1	6.9
15-20 yrs.	12.0	5.2	8.0
20+	23.9	8.2	14.4
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Median Years	9.1	3.0	4.3



### Jobs Held By Boston Resident Office Workers

The results of this and other studies have shown that the firms in the new office buildings provide significant numbers of additional jobs for Boston's residents. Office buildings are only slightly less effective in providing jobs for city residents (31 percent of office jobs are held by city residents) compared to all job sources in the city (36 percent held by city residents). See Table II-8. In other words, the place of residence of those who work in the office buildings approximately matches the place of residence of the total of all those who work in Boston - about one-third of both groups live in the city. The creation of jobs for Boston residents is a significant aspect of office building development in Boston.

The types of jobs now held by Boston residents, relative to the spectrum of all office jobs, does raise some significant policy questions. When the distribution of occupations of the sampled office employees is compared with that of the overall Boston resident work force, several significant differences are observed. One major difference is the distribution of office workers in the manager/professional and clerical occupations are approximately double that for the Boston resident work force. See Table II-2. A serious mismatch exists in the approximately 45 percent of all Boston resident workers who are

trained in classic "blue collar" occupational skills as craftsmen, foremen, operatives, laborers and direct service workers compared with the limited 3 percent of office jobs which require such skills.(10) (11)

The new office buildings, because of their concentration in the downtown area of Boston have not significantly displaced manufacturing firms. Rather, they do represent important new sources of employment to Boston residents, as well as those living in the metropolitan area. What the "mismatch" situation demonstrates, is the urgent need to fully implement Boston's new jobs, manpower and education policies and programs. These consist of the dual approach of simultaneously adapting education and manpower training to provide the occupational skills required by the nature of the jobs emerging in Boston, and a major effort to hold on to those manufacturing jobs still in Boston, which do provide opportunity for "blue collar" workers.

---

(10) The issue of "occupational mismatch" is a complex one, which has a number of dimensions. For a detailed analysis of this problem and the role of policies and programs which are being used to improve the employment picture for the less skilled portion of Boston's resident work force, see "Jobs, Manpower And Education," Parkman Conference Center Program, by P. Menconeri, M. Kane, and Robert Schwartz, January, 1974.

(11) "Blue Collar" jobs have been popularly related to the office towers during the construction phase of the buildings. However, when the short time and smaller proportion of such jobs to the "white collar" office jobs are considered, it turns out that the construction jobs created amount to only one half of one percent of the total of the white collar jobs in the same office buildings. Including the construction jobs would not alter the previously cited mismatch, even if all the construction workers lived in Boston.

TABLE II-8  
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THOSE WHO WORK IN BOSTON

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Total, All Jobs in Boston*</u>	<u>Jobs in Surveyed Office Buildings (N=289)</u>
Boston	35.9%	31.1%
Outside of Boston	64.1	68.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

---

\* U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1970.



### III. RESIDENTIAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

One of the primary purposes of the office worker survey was to explore the question of which households benefit and how, from the additional jobs created by Boston's new office buildings. Where do these employees live and what are their household characteristics? What do they consider important in terms of selecting their places of residence? These and other questions are important from the standpoint of city policies and programs in the areas of job, housing and educational development and will be addressed by considering the following categories of residents:

1. Boston resident office workers:  
those office employees who live in the City of Boston
2. Non-resident office workers:  
those office employees who live outside of Boston in the following subareas:
  - a. Inner suburban
  - b. Outer suburban

#### Boston Resident Office Workers

A significant proportion (31 percent) of the office workers live in Boston. This section looks at the Boston resident office workers in terms of demographic and economic characteristics of their households, with the objective of interpreting and relating these characteristics to the housing needs of this group.

### Location Within Boston

Boston residents who work in the new office buildings live throughout the City, with virtually every neighborhood area being represented. (See Table III-1) About 22 percent of the Boston resident workers live within the downtown "core" area; the neighborhoods closest to and within easy walking distance or short public transit ride to the office buildings. This is also the area of the city which has recently (within the last 10 years) received a sizable proportion of new housing development and where forecasts show the majority of all the future new privately financed housing will be built. (12)

The remaining 78 percent of the Boston resident office workers are approximately uniformly distributed over the city, with the exception of the Dorchester area, with 20 percent of the office employees living there. (13)

---

(12) For a complete discussion and analysis of new residential development in Boston, including a prognosis of where, how much, and type of development, see Chapter VII, New Development, in Housing in Boston: Background Analysis and Program Directions, a Working Paper, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research and Planning Departments, Housing Task Force, June 1974.

(13) Dorchester is one of the highest population areas in Boston, and over 15 percent of the City's employed population (16 years and over) live there. 1970 U. S. Census Fourth Count Summary tape, BRA Research Department, prepared by Mary Tompkins.

Table III-1

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKER'S PLACE OF  
RESIDENCE WITHIN BOSTON

Core Boston (N=20)

Back Bay	15.6%	
Beacon Hill	2.2	
North End, South End, West End, and Waterfront	4.4	
Subtotal,		
Core Boston		22.2%

Remaining Boston (N=70)

Allston-Brighton	8.9	
Charlestown	3.3	
East Boston	11.1	
South Boston	1.1	
Dorchester	20.0	
Hyde Park	6.7	
Jamaica Plain	1.1	
Mattapan	4.4	
Roslindale	3.3	
West Roxbury	5.6	
Roxbury	2.2	
Boston, area not specified	10.0	
Subtotal,		
remaining Boston		<u>77.7%</u>

<u>Boston Total</u>	99.9%	99.9%
---------------------	-------	-------

### Length of Tenure

The question and issue of what extent do the new office building jobs serve new residents relative to longer term residents is difficult to answer.<sup>(14)</sup> However, in terms of the measure of length of tenure at present address, it was found that 32 percent had been living at their present address more than 10 years and 43 percent more than five years. (See Table III-2) While not absolutely conclusive, this data suggests that a sizable proportion, possible over half of the City's resident office workers are either life-time or long-term residents of Boston.<sup>(15)</sup>

There is also a difference in length of tenure between the core area of Boston and the rest of the City. Those living in the core area exhibit a higher degree of mobility, with over 40 percent living in their present unit one year or less, compared with 20 percent for those living in other areas of Boston.<sup>(16)</sup>

---

(14) The question of what municipality the respondent had previously lived in was not asked, due to the need for minimizing the length of the interview, a key consideration in the survey design; see Appendix A.

(15) This conclusion is augered by the fact that some proportion of those reporting a relatively short period of tenure at their current Boston address, had moved from another place of residence within Boston. For example, the 1970 U.S. Census Tracts (Table P-2) shows that 55 percent of Boston's population lived in the same house as in 1965, and that over 50 percent of those who lived in a different house in 1965 were living in Boston at that time. Therefore only 23 percent of Boston's 1970 population were living outside of Boston in 1965.

(16) The precise reasons for this difference in mobility are not clear and inadequate sample size restrictions limit the extent to which this question can be directly explored. However, subsequent comparisons of household composition and, in particular, presence of children, age, and other factors are employed in latter sections of this report to shed some light on why different mobility rates exist between core area resident office workers and resident office workers in the rest of Boston.

Table III-2

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS BY LENGTH OF RESIDENTIAL TENURE

<u>Length of Residence (Years)</u>	<u>Boston</u>		
	<u>Core</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Boston Total</u>
	(N=19)	(N=71)	(N=90)
0-1	42.1%	19.7%	24.4%
1-2	15.8	8.5	10.0
2-3	15.8	7.0	8.9
3-4	5.3	8.5	7.8
4-5	0.0	7.0	5.5
5-6	0.0	2.8	2.2
6-10	5.3	9.9	8.9
10+	15.8	36.6	32.3
<u>Total</u>	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%



### Household Characteristics

A wide range of household types benefit from the office jobs, in terms of age, presence of children in the household, multiple worker households, and other attributes. This is in spite of the occupational mismatch previously referred to and the fact that a relatively high proportion of Boston resident office workers are women and, generally, hold lower skill and pay level positions.

### Age and Sex Distributions

With a median age of 28 years, Boston resident office workers are on the average younger than either the group of all office workers (median age 34 years), or of Boston's total resident labor force, with a median age of 38 years. (See Table III-3) One explanation of this younger age distribution is that the general lower skill level jobs (clerical and related occupations) which most of the Boston resident office workers hold and the attendant shorter job training period, allow job market entry at an early age. Another factor contributing to the bias toward a lower age distribution of the Boston resident office workers, would be a possible tendency of this predominately female group of workers to leave the work force in a middle range age bracket of approximately 25 to 50 years to both have and raise children, and then some proportion would again re-enter the job market at older ages.

Table II-5 shows both the predominately lower age distribution of the clerical occupations and a noticeable lower proportion of workers in the middle range age bracket.

Table III-3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL BOSTON RESIDENT LABOR FORCE  
AND OF BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS

<u>Age (Years)</u>	<u>Surveyed Boston Resident Office Workers (N=88)</u>		<u>Boston Resident Labor Force*</u>
16-19	5.7%	5.7%	9.3%
20-24	23.9	23.9%	17.6
Subtotal 16-24		29.5%	
25-29	22.7		
30-34	6.8		
Subtotal 25-34		29.5	18.4
35-39	7.9		
Subtotal 25-39		37.5	
40-44	4.5		
Subtotal 35-44		12.5	15.5
45-49	3.4		
50-54	4.5		
Subtotal 45-54		7.9	18.1
55-59	9.1		
60-64	7.9		
Subtotal 55-64		17.1	15.3
65+	3.4	3.4	6.0
Subtotal 40+		32.9	
<u>Totals</u>	<u>99.8%</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Median Age (Years)	28		38

\*Source 1970 U. S. Census, "Journey to Work", Table 2, page 358

Approximately 60 percent of the surveyed Boston resident office workers are female, which is consistent with the higher proportion of clericals in the City's resident office worker labor force. (See Table III-4) This is a somewhat higher representation of female workers, relative to Boston's total resident labor force, which is composed of 49.2 percent female, and considerably higher, than all, independent of place of residence, who work in the City of Boston, which are 41.9 percent female, and of all workers employed in the Boston SMSA, which are 38.3 percent female. This highlights an important role of Boston and, in particular, the new office building jobs as a place in which increased employment opportunities have developed for females.



Table III-4

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS,  
BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation (N=87)</u>		
	<u>Manager-Professional</u>	<u>Clerical-Other</u>	<u>All Occupations</u>
<u>Sex Distribution</u>			
Female	30.4%	68.7%	58.6%
Male	69.6	31.3	41.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Occupation Distribution</u>			
Female	13.7	86.3	100.0
Male	44.4	55.6	100.0
Total	26.4	73.6	100.0
<u>Sex and Occupation Distribution</u>			
Female	8.1	50.6	58.6
Male	18.4	23.0	41.4
Total	26.4	73.6	100.0%

Household Composition, Presence of Children, and Multiple Worker  
Households.

Given the higher representation of females among Boston's resident office workers it is of interest from the standpoint of their housing requirements to explore other characteristics of their households and the extent that these households have multiple breadwinners.

Over 70 percent of the Boston resident office worker respondents live in families or with relatives. When the predominately non-family category of core area resident office workers are excluded from this group, this percentage is increased to approximately 85 percent. (See Table III-5) For the city as a whole, 65 percent of all households are made up of the family-relative type of living arrangement.<sup>(17)</sup> Thus the Boston resident office worker's household living arrangement is slightly more family orientated than that of all Boston households collectively.

The proportion of Boston resident office workers that have children in their households (22 percent) is lower than the proportion of all Boston households with children (32 percent).<sup>(18)</sup> With the predominately non-family, childless, core area resident workers excluded, this increase slightly, to 25 percent, still somewhat lower than the overall city average for all households, (32 percent). (See Tables III-6 and III-7)

---

(17)

1970 U.S. Census, CENSUS TRACTS, final report PHC (1)-29 Boston, Mass. SMSA, Table P-1.

(18)

1970 U.S. Census, CENSUS TRACTS, PC(1)-23 Mass., Table 25

TABLE II-5

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS HOUSEHOLD

COMPOSITION AND RESIDENTIAL AREA

Composition Distribution

<u>Composition</u>	<u>Place of Residence Within Boston</u>		
	<u>Core</u> (N=17)	<u>Remainder</u> (N=65)	<u>Total</u> (N=82)
Live alone or with others unrelated	82.3%	15.4%	29.3%
Live in Family unit or with other relatives	17.7%	84.6%	70.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Composition and Residential Area Distribution

Live alone or with others unrelated	17.1%	12.2%	29.3%
Live in family unit or with other relatives	3.7%	67.1%	70.3%
Total	20.7%	79.3%	100.0%

TABLE III-6

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKER HOUSEHOLDS:  
PRESENCE OF CHILDREN BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

<u>Presence of Children</u>	<u>Place of Residence Within Boston</u>		
	<u>Core</u> (N=19)	<u>Remainder</u> (N=71)	<u>Total</u> (N=90)
Yes	10.5	28.2	24.4
No	89.5	71.8	75.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE III-7

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKER HOUSEHOLDS:  
PRESENCE OF CHILDREN BY WORKER AGE GROUP

<u>Presence of Children</u>	<u>Age Group</u>			
	<u>19-24</u> (N=26)	<u>25-39</u> (N=34)	<u>40+</u> (N=29)	<u>Total</u> N=89)
Yes	42.3%	26.5%	6.9%	24.7%
No	57.7%	73.5%	93.1%	75.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Data presented in a subsequent section dealing with attitudes suggests that the major reasons for the lower incidence of office worker households with children is tied to a perception that Boston's school system is inferior to suburban school systems and that those workers who hold this view and have sufficient household income will choose not to live in Boston. For example, 39 percent of the office worker households living outside of Boston have children and 46 percent of those living in the outer suburbs have children.

Another area which may be somewhat linked with the preceeding is a relatively high proportion, of almost 60 percent, of Boston resident office worker households which have another household member who is also employed (either full or part time). The proportion of multiple worker households is highest for female office respondents (67 percent) and is highest among younger, 19-24 year old females (at 85 percent), and decreases with the increasing age groups for both male and female worker respondents, Table III-8.

Table III-8

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS, INCIDENCE OF MULTIPLE  
WORKER HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE GROUP AND SEX OF WORKER

<u>Sex Distribution</u>		<u>Age Group; years</u>			<u>Total</u>
		<u>19-24</u>	<u>25-39</u>	<u>40+</u>	
All Boston Resident Respondents (N=87)	Male	23.1%	51.5%	46.4%	41.4%
	Female	76.9%	48.5%	53.4%	58.6%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<u>Sex Distribution</u>					
Respondents with Another Wage Earner in Household (N=50)	Male	19.1%	44.4%	36.4%	32.0%
	Female	80.9%	55.6%	63.6%	68.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<u>Multiple Wage Earner Distribution</u>					
Proportion of respondents in each age-sex cell, with another wage earner in household	Male	66.7%	47.1%	30.8%	44.4%
	Female	85.0%	62.5%	46.7%	66.7%
	Total	80.8%	54.5%	39.3%	57.5%



Income of Boston Resident Office Workers

An obviously crucial factor affecting both housing location and quality is that of household income. The household income of office workers that live in Boston is considerably higher than that of other Boston households and is comparable and slightly higher than that for all Boston families, Table III-9. A variety of factors, such as higher wage levels and incidence of multiple worker households, determine these differences. Although the data does not exist which might pin point the causes of the higher household incomes of the office workers who live in Boston, the differences are significant.<sup>(19)</sup> The office jobs held by Boston residents are important in terms of providing these households with more purchasing power than other Boston Households.

---

(19)

Factors such as the concentration of lower income students and elderly in the City of Boston also tend to depress the average income level of households in Boston (page 13).

Table III-9

INCOME COMPARISONS

<u>Annual Income</u>	(Jan. 1973 Survey) Boston Resident Office Worker Households (N=84)	<u>City of Boston (1970 Census Data)</u>		
		<u>Families*</u>	<u>Households*</u>	<u>Individuals**</u>
\$ 0-6,999	-	34.5%	44.1%	66.7%
7,000-9,999	-	21.6%	21.0%	20.7%
Subtotal 0-9,999	41.7%	56.1%	65.1%	87.4%
10,000-14,999	31.0%	25.7%	21.0%	9.4%
15,000-24,999	18.9%	14.8%	11.0%	2.3%
25,000+	8.4%	3.4%	2.9%	.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Median	\$11,273	\$9,133	\$7,835	\$5,491

---

\*Source: BRA Research Dept. from the analysis of 1970 U. S. Census Data. Adjusting for the effect of inflation between 1970 and Jan. 73, these incomes are higher; with an increase in the median of over 10 percent. It is estimated for example that the median income of families in Boston in Jan. 1973 was about \$10,200.

\*\*Individuals here refer to all Boston residents (wage earners) who both live and work in Boston. Source: 1970 U. S. Census, Journey to Work, Table 2, page 358.

### Residential Location Preferences

The preceeding paragraphs have presented a generally objective description of Boston resident office worker households based upon a number of indices. The subjective areas of what these worker respondents considered important in their selection of place of residential location and their satisfaction with daily work trip were also probed to complete the picture.

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of a series of factors commonly associated with entering the decision of where to live. In terms of comparing the relative importance of the various factors, convenience to work was clearly the dominate locational objective of Boston resident office workers. Approximately three quarters of these respondents cited this as being "very important" in their choice of their place of residence (Table III-10). Furthermore, this received the lowest (eight percent) response as being "not important". The actual convenience to downtown office employment, and how such convenience is valued by many households in residential location decision process, represents a key intrinsic asset of many of Boston's residential neighborhoods.

Neighborhood safety, proximity to shopping facilities and amount of space or size of rooms also received emphasis - although at a lower individual (approximately 40 percent citing "very important") rate.

On the other end of the scale, it is noteworthy that the quality of neighborhood schools figured low in relative salience, with the highest rate of "not important" (65 percent), and received a similar pattern response as availability of parks. The relatively few house-

Table III-10

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS BY IMPORTANCE OF  
FACTORS INFLUENCING CHOICE OF RESIDENCE

<u>Factors Influencing Residential Choice</u>	<u>"Very"</u>	<u>"Somewhat"</u>	<u>"Not"</u>	<u>N.A.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Safety of neighborhood	41%	29%	19%	11%	100%
Quality of public schools	13	10	65	12	100
Availability of parks	12	15	60	13	100
Proximity to shopping	37	28	21	14	100
Convenience to work	74	6	8	12	100
Proximity to friends, relatives	27	21	40	12	100
Amount of space or size of rooms	39	22	27	12	100
Arrangement or lay-out of rooms	19	37	31	13	100

---

\*

N.A. represents those respondents who did not answer this question (refer to question number 13, Appendix B). The primary reason for not answering this question could be that some respondents were not in a position of decision making relative to their place of living - that is they may be living in the house they grew up in, etc.

holds with children (24 percent) among Boston resident office worker households, makes school quality a factor low in general self interest and undoubtedly explains this lack of salience.<sup>(20)</sup> Another casual mechanism, often cited, is the circular nature of selection: those households with children, who do not believe that Boston provides adequate quality public schools, and have the economic means will tend to live elsewhere. This of course, if pursued to the limit, would only leave, as Boston residents, those without children or those with children holding either an acceptance of Boston schools or because of economic or other reasons, a lack of residential choice. The preceeding data would seem to support this view, and subsequent sections of this report, dealing with the much higher rate of children among outer suburban Boston office worker households lends further weight to this argument. The implications of a significant change and improvement in the quality of Boston's public schools is clear. Improvement in educational quality, coupled with easy access to large numbers of jobs being created within downtown Boston, could spur a dramatic reawakening of interest in living in Boston, which would subsequently spark new residential construction, residential fix-up, and provide an additional incentive for existing Boston families to continue to live in Boston.

---

(20)

The results of an additional cross tabulation, by whether or not children were present in the household, to a limited extent confirms this observation - among households with children, school quality received a 36 percent "very important" compared with only 7 percent from those without children. However, the problem of inadequate sample size within these subsets precludes drawing really significant conclusions.



### Transportation to Work

Since convenience to work was cited by an overwhelming majority of Boston resident office workers as the single most important aspect of their residential location, it would be expected that their degree of satisfaction with their work trip would be high. This is indeed the case. Almost half this group are "very satisfied" with their daily work trip and only one fourth are not satisfied (Table III-11).

Boston resident office worker's principal mode of transportation is public transit, used by 57 percent of the workers. (Table III-12). Furthermore, they use the private automobile mode at an extremely low rate of 20 percent, less than half that of Boston residents as a whole. This is also reflected in the lower incidence of automobile ownership among Boston resident office workers (and of all Boston households) relative to non-resident office workers. (Table III-13)



Table III-11

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS AND BOSTON CORE AREA HIGH  
RISE RESIDENTS BY SATISFACTION WITH DAILY WORK TRIP

<u>Satisfaction Rating</u> (N)	<u>Boston Resident Office Workers</u>			<u>High Rise Residents*</u>
	<u>Core</u> (18)	<u>Remainder</u> (71)	<u>Boston Total</u> (87)	<u>Core Area</u> (99)
Very Satisfied	72%	38%	45%	66%
Fairly Satisfied	11	33	29	25
Not Satisfied	17	29	26	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

---

\*Boston's New High Rise Apartments: A Study of the Residents and Their  
Preferences, BRA Research Dept., Jan. 1974.

Table III-12

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS, TOTAL BOSTON RESIDENT  
LABOR FORCE AND CITY OF BOSTON RESIDENTS BY  
PRINCIPAL MODE OF TRANSPORTATION EMPLOYED IN DAILY WORK TRIP

<u>Transportation Mode</u>	<u>Boston Resident Office Workers (N=90)</u>	<u>Boston Resident Labor Force*</u>	<u>City of Bost</u>
Walk	21.1%	17.5	14.6%
Transit	56.6%	41.5	38.3%
Bus, Trolley, or Subway	54.4		--
Train	2.2		--
Private Automobile	20.0	36.5	43.6
Automobile only	15.6		--
Automobile and other	4.4		--
Other***	<u>2.2</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Total	99.9%	99.9%	100.0%

---

\*Source: 1970 U. S. Census, Journey to Work, Table 2, page 358.

\*\*Source: 1970 U. S. Census, PHC (1)-29 Census Tracts, Boston Table P-2, pg. P-43.

\*\*\*An unspecified portion of "other" modes represents use of taxi.

Table III-13

OFFICE WORKERS AND CITY OF BOSTON  
RESIDENTS BY NUMBER OF CARS PER HOUSEHOLD

<u>Number of Cars</u>	<u>Office Workers</u>			<u>City of Boston*</u>
	<u>Boston Resident Office Workers (N=90)</u>	<u>Non-Resident Office Workers (N=198)</u>	<u>All (N=289)</u>	
0	34%	7%	16%	47%
1	43	50	47	44
2+	22	43	37	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

---

\*U. S. Census, 1970, Census Tracts, Table H-2, page H-43.

### Likelihood of Moving

The direct extent of how satisfied Boston resident office workers are with their current place of residence is a difficult question to answer, especially in the context of relying on a brief telephone interview. However, one reasonable surrogate for this question is the question of the likelihood of moving in the next year or two.<sup>(21)</sup> The response to this question, suggests if respondents act on their current perceptions, future moves will be at a rate equal to or less than the 1970 average national move rate of about 20 percent of all households per year.<sup>(22)</sup> Among Boston resident office workers, approximately 34 percent expressed some degree of likeliness of a move within the next year or two (Table III-14). This was considerably lower than the expression of the residents of the City at large, which was approximately 49 percent.<sup>(23)</sup>

To the extent, then, that a low to average rate of inclination to move within a year or two reflects satisfaction, then it could reasonably be assumed the Boston resident office workers are satisfied with their current living arrangements.

---

(21) Unfortunately, this direct question (question number 29, Appendix B) was asked only those respondents living in Boston.

(22) The 1970 U.S. Census of Population, Final Report PC (1)-C1 United States Summary, Table 87, shows that the mobility rate nationally for all areas was 18.8 percent and for all urban areas was 19.5 percent.

(23) The total of "likely" and "fairly likely", in Table III-14.

Table III-14

BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS AND ALL BOSTON RESIDENTS  
BY LIKELIHOOD OF A MOVE IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO

<u>Likelihood of a Move</u>	<u>Residential Area of Office Workers</u>			<u>All Boston Residents*</u>
	<u>Boston Core (N=19)</u>	<u>Boston Remainder (N=70)</u>	<u>Boston Total (N=89)</u>	
Likely	5%	21%	18%	33%
Fairly likely	11	17	16	16
Not likely	84	62	66	51
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

---

\*

"How the People See Their City: Boston 1969," Survey Research Program, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, page 88.

### Outside of Boston

Almost 70 percent (68.9 percent) of the surveyed office workers live in the Boston metropolitan area outside of the City of Boston. Because of the distinctively urban characteristics of many of the municipalities nearest to Boston and for the purposes of examining household locational characteristics it is appropriate to distinguish two sub areas outside of Boston: the inner and outer suburbs.<sup>(24)</sup> In general, the survey results show that the office workers living in the inner suburbs have similar household and other characteristics as do the office workers who live in Boston and represent approximately 20 percent of all office workers. On the other hand, those living in the outer suburban municipalities have markedly different household and other characteristics than those who live in Boston or the inner suburbs, and make up about half (49.1 percent) of all the surveyed office workers. Another sub category of special interest are those Boston office workers now living outside Boston and at one time had lived in Boston. Examination of these categories of Boston office workers who do not choose to live in Boston is another approach to illuminating the set of factors which influence the decision of individuals on where to live and also to develop information which may be of utility in the formulation and execution of Boston's future development and social planning policies.

---

(24)

The inner suburbs consist of the following municipalities: Brookline, Cambridge, Chelsea, Everett, Newton, Revere, Somerville, Waltham, Watertown, and Winthrop.



### Occupation and Income

The office workers living in the outer suburban areas are about evenly split between those in the higher skill (manager-professional) and lower skill (clerical-other) occupational groupings, Table III-15. Those living in the inner suburbs, predominately (over 60%) are in the clerical-other category, although to a lesser degree than exhibited by those living in Boston.

The relative household income distributions are consistent with what one would expect from this occupational pattern. Higher incomes are shown for those living in the outer suburbs, where the greater number of higher skilled workers live. Table III-16. As the following paragraphs indicate, the income differential can not be ascribed to differences in the number of those employed per household, since these latter differences are not significant.

TABLE III-15

OFFICE WORKERS BY OCCUPATION  
AND BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Occupations	Residential Location				
	Boston Total	Inner	Outer	Suburbs Total	All Locations Total
(N)					
Managers & Professionals	23	22	72	94	117
Clerical & Others*	67	35	70	105	172
All Occupations	90	57	142	199	289
(Percent Distribution)					
Managers & Professionals	25.6%	38.6%	50.7%	47.2%	40.5%
Clerical & Other*	74.4%	61.4%	49.3%	52.8%	59.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(Percent Composition)					
Managers & Professionals	19.7%	18.8%	61.5%	80.3%	100.0%
Clerical & Other*	38.9%	20.3%	40.7%	61.0%	100.0%
All Occupations	31.1%	19.7%	49.1%	68.9%	100.0%

\*

Because Manager, professional, and clerical workers made up 93 percent of all occupations reported, the remaining 7 percent representing "other" occupations were lumped for convenience with clerical.

TABLE III-16  
OFFICE WORKERS' ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Income and Occupation	Residential Location				All Locations Total (N=159)
	Boston (N=61)	Suburbs		Total (N=98)	
		Inner (N=35)	Outer (N=63)		
Clerical - other					
\$0-7,999	37.7%	28.6%	27.0%	27.5%	31.5%
8,000-9,999	16.4	11.4	11.1	11.2	13.2
10,000-11,999	9.8	11.4	6.3	8.2	8.8
12,000-14,999	13.1	11.4	15.9	14.3	13.8
15,000-17,999	8.2	14.3	20.6	18.4	14.5
18,000-19,999	4.9	8.6	3.2	5.1	5.0
20,000-24,999	6.6	5.7	9.5	8.2	7.5
25,000-29,999	1.6	2.9	4.8	4.1	3.1
30,000+	1.6	5.7	1.6	3.1	2.5
Total	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	99.9%
Median	\$9,500	--	--	\$12,650	\$11,200
Manager-professional	(N=23)	(N=22)	(N=67)	(N=89)	(N=112)
\$0-7,999	4.3%	9.1%	0.0%	2.3%	2.7%
8,000-9,999	4.3	9.1	0.0	2.3	2.7
10,000-11,999	21.7	9.1	10.5	10.1	12.5
12,000-14,999	30.4	18.2	13.4	14.6	17.9
15,000-17,999	4.3	4.5	26.9	21.3	17.9
18,000-19,999	8.7	9.1	4.5	5.6	6.3
20,000-24,999	4.3	18.2	20.9	20.2	17.0
25,000-29,999	8.7	9.1	9.0	9.0	8.9
30,000+	13.0	13.6	14.9	14.6	14.3
Total	99.7%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%	100.2%
Median	\$13,930	--	--	\$17,920	\$17,400
All Occupations	(N=84)	(N=57)	(N=130)	(N=187)	(N=271)
\$0-7,999	28.6%	21.1%	13.1%	15.5%	19.6%
8,000-9,999	13.1	10.5	5.4	6.9	8.9
10,000-11,999	13.1	10.5	8.5	9.1	10.3
12,000-14,999	17.9	14.0	14.6	14.4	15.5
15,000-17,999	7.1	10.5	23.8	19.8	15.9
18,000-19,999	5.9	8.8	3.8	5.3	5.5
20,000-24,999	5.9	10.5	15.4	13.9	11.4
25,000-29,999	3.6	5.3	6.9	6.4	5.5
30,000+	4.8	8.8	8.5	8.5	7.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	99.8%	100.0%
Median	\$11,270	\$13,710	\$16,110	\$15,610	\$14,170

Incidence of Multiple Adult and Multiple Worker Households

The office workers living in the outer suburban areas have approximately the same proportion (60 percent) of multiple worker households as the office worker households living in Boston, Table III-17. This is significant in that Boston has about two and one half times the non-Boston rate of one-adult office worker households. The similarity in the proportion of multiple worker households is due to the fact that in Boston, the proportion of multiple workers found in multiple adult households is higher, (at 78 percent), than the corresponding proportion, (70 percent), found outside of Boston.

TABLE III-17

OFFICE WORKERS: INCIDENCE OF MULTIPLE ADULT HOUSEHOLDS

AN MULTIPLE WORKER HOUSEHOLDS BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Household Description (N)	Boston			Suburban			All Locations
	Core (19)	Remainder (68)	Total (87)	Inner (57)	Outer (139)	Total (196)	Total (283)
<u>Percentage of all office worker households with:</u>							
1) at least one other adult member employed*	21.1%	66.2%	56.3%	66.7%	60.4%	62.2%	60.4%
2) only one worker	78.9	33.8	43.7	33.3	39.6	37.8	39.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0%
<u>Percentage of all office worker households with:</u>							
1) more than one adult	31.6	83.8	72.4	82.5	91.4	88.8	83.7
2) only one adult	68.4	16.2	27.6	17.5	8.6	11.2	16.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Percentage of all multiple adult house- holds with at least one other adult member employed</u>							
	66.7	78.9	77.8	80.9	66.1	70.1	72.1

\*Where other worker(s) may be either part or full time employed

### Age Comparison

As noted earlier, a marked difference exists between the age distribution of the office worker households living in Boston and those living elsewhere. Those who live in Boston are younger, with over fifty percent being under thirty years of age, compared to the thirty-three percent under thirty years living outside of Boston. (See Table III-18.) The proportion in each area over sixty years is approximately equal, at 11 or 12 percent; resulting in the middle years group (ages 30-60) being more heavily represented outside of Boston.

Since child raising is commonly associated with this latter age group, it is of interest to look at the survey results presented in the following paragraphs to see the extent of the confirmation of this association.



TABLE III-18

OFFICE WORKERS BY AGE  
AND BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Age	Residential Location					
	Boston		Suburbs			All Locations Total (N=286)
	Core (N=18)	Remainder (N=70)	Total (N=88)	Inner (N=57)	Outer (N=141)	Total (N=198)
19-24	27.8%	30.0%	29.5%	26.3%	16.3%	19.2%
25-29	27.8	21.4	22.7	15.8	12.8	13.6
30-39	16.7	14.3	14.8	24.6	19.1	20.7
40-49	11.1	7.1	7.9	8.9	22.0	18.2
50-59	11.1	14.3	13.6	10.5	18.4	16.2
60-69	5.6	10.0	9.1	10.5	9.9	10.1
70+	0.0	2.9	2.3	3.5	1.4	2.0
Total	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%

### Presence of Children

The presence of children in the households of the Boston workers living in the outer suburbs is significantly more frequent than those living in either Boston or the inner suburbs. Almost half (48 percent) of the households living in the outer suburbs have children, Table III-19, with Boston and the inner suburbs being similar and lower with 25 and 21 percent respectively.

The outer suburbs also are different in that by occupational grouping, there is a higher proportion of children in the manager-professional households, Table III-19.

There is also a relatively higher proportion of children in the older office worker households living outside of Boston, relative to those living in Boston. Almost half (49 percent) of the non-Boston resident office worker households with children are found in the over 40 year old worker age group, compared to 9 percent for those living in Boston, Table III-20. The higher income generally associated with higher occupational skill level and with age may explain why the office worker households, with children and living outside of Boston, exhibit a higher income distribution than other office worker categories, Table III-21.

The differences in the age of respondents with children between those living in and out of Boston may be significant in terms of where most households desire to raise their children. As noted earlier, Boston has a relatively younger age distribution of office workers. Another reason for this, beyond the occupational argument presented on page 26, is that households move out of the city before their children enter school, in order to achieve a better school system for their children.

TABLE III-19

OFFICE WORKERS: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH  
CHILDREN PRESENT BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND  
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS\*

Occupational Grouping		Residential Location				All Locations Total
		Boston Total	Inner	Suburban Outer	Total	
<u>Manager &amp; Professional</u>						
Total	N	23	22	72	94	117
	%	19.7	18.8	61.5	80.3	100.0
With Kids	N	5	5	41	46	51
	%	9.8	9.8	80.4	90.2	100.0
Kid/Total	%	21.7	22.7	56.9	48.9	43.6
<u>Clerical &amp; Other</u>						
Total	N	67	35	70	105	172
	%	38.9	20.3	40.7	61.0	100.0
With Kids	N	15	7	24	31	46
	%	32.6	15.2	52.2	67.4	100.0
Kid/Total	%	22.4	20.0	34.3	29.5	26.7
<u>All Occupations</u>						
Total	N	89	57	142	199	288
	%	31.1	19.7	49.1	68.9	100.0
With Kids	N	22	12	67	79	102
	%	20.6	12.4	67.0	79.4	100.0
Kid/Total	%	24.7	21.1	47.9	39.7	35.3

\* The N reported in this table do not always yield indicated totals due to differences in the number of non responses to the question on which this table is based.

TABLE III-20

OFFICE WORKERS WITH CHILDREN, BY AGE GROUPS  
AND BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

<u>Age of Worker</u> (years)	<u>Residential Location</u>		
	<u>Boston</u> (N=22)	<u>Suburban</u> (N=80)	<u>All Locations</u> (N=102)
19-24	50%	20%	27%
25-39	41	31	33
40+	9	49	40
Total	100%	100%	100%

TABLE III-21

OFFICE WORKERS LIVING OUTSIDE OF BOSTON BY ANNUAL  
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN COMPARED WITH  
BOSTON RESIDENT OFFICE WORKERS AND ALL OFFICE WORKERS\*

<u>Income</u>	<u>Live Outside of Boston</u>			<u>Live in</u>	<u>All Office Workers (N=271)</u>
	<u>With Children (N=75)</u>	<u>Without Children (N=122)</u>	<u>Total (N=187)</u>	<u>Boston (N=84)</u>	
0-7,999	13.3%	17.0%	15.5%	28.6%	19.6%
8,000-9,999	1.3	10.7	6.9	13.1	8.9
10,000-11,999	8.0	9.8	9.1	13.1	10.3
12,-14,999	13.3	15.2	14.4	17.9	15.5
15,000-17,999	26.7	15.2	19.8	7.1	15.9
18,000-19,999	2.7	7.1	5.3	5.9	5.5
20,000-24,999	14.7	13.4	13.9	5.9	11.4
25,000-29,999	5.3	7.1	6.4	3.6	5.5
30,000+	14.7	4.5	8.6	4.8	7.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%
Median	\$16,575	\$14,470	\$15,608	\$11,273	\$14,178

\*Note: Due to non responses, the "N" do not add to total indicated among the various categories.



#### IV. HOUSING IMPLICATIONS

The preceeding sections have presented the similarities and differences in the demographic characteristics of office workers who live in Boston and those who live outside of Boston. As a relatively objective portrayal of overall differences between these groups some inferences may be drawn in terms of what households, with differing characteristics in terms of income, age, presence of children, etc., look for in terms of their place of residence. However, to complete this picture it is necessary to explore the subjective area of housing preferences. This was explored for the Boston resident office workers, on pages 37 to 45. The following paragraphs explore the attitudes of those living outside of Boston toward moving to Boston, what they look for in a living environment, and for those who had at one time lived in Boston, the reasons why they left Boston. This section concludes with an evaluation of potential housing demands in Boston, by those office workers now living outside the City.

### Attitudes Toward Living In Boston

In order to complete the picture of differences and similarities between the Boston office workers who live in and out of Boston, it is useful to explore the attitudes of those living outside of Boston toward moving to Boston and what they look for in a living environment.

Office workers residing outside Boston were asked "...how likely is it that in the next year or two you will decide to move to the City of Boston...". Approximately eight percent of these respondents answered in the affirmative, Table IV-1. Furthermore, when the "not very likely" respondents were further quired as to whether there were any changes (either in the city or their own personal circumstances) which would make it more likely that they might want to move to Boston, only 16 percent answered in the affirmative. It would thus appear that a majority of the residents of the suburbs generally held strong convictions against moving to Boston, at least in the near future.

A variety of reasons were given to the open ended question of why it was not likely they would decide to move to the City of Boston in the next year or two, Table IV-2. However the major reason cited, by 40 percent of the respondents, was a preference for the general suburban environment, encompassing such characteristics as lack of crowding and existence of more greenery. It was noteworthy that differences in municipal services and economic factors combined were suggested by less than 13 percent of the respondents.

TABLE IV-1

OFFICE WORKERS LIVING OUTSIDE OF BOSTON  
BY LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING TO BOSTON IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO

<u>Likelihood of Moving to Boston</u>	<u>Residential Location</u>		
	<u>Suburbs</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Inner</u>	<u>Outer</u>	
	<u>(54)</u>	<u>(140)</u>	<u>(194)</u>
Likely	9.3%	7.1%	7.7%
Not Very Likely	90.7	92.9	92.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE IV-2  
OFFICE WORKERS WHO DO NOT NOW LIVE IN BOSTON BY  
REASONS FOR NOT WANTING TO MOVE TO BOSTON

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u> (N=177)
Personal	
- Familiar with area, near friends, relatives	10.7%
- Other	6.2
Community Composition	0.6
Location	
- Convenient to work	1.1
- Convenient to recreation	0.6
- Other	1.7
Characteristics of Neighborhood	
- Nature amenities	0.6
- Quiet	1.1
- Suburban or rural character (not crowded, etc.)	39.5
- Other	1.7
Municipal Services	
- Good Schools	1.1
- Other	0.0
Economic	
- Rents lower than Boston	7.3
- Taxes lower than Boston	1.1
- Costs of housing ownership	0.6
- General cost of living	1.7
- Other	1.1
Dwelling Unit Size	0.6
Other	
- Good for kids	3.9
- Safe neighborhood	1.7
- Better choice of housing	1.1
- Miscellaneous	8.5
- N.A.	7.3
Total	99.8%

Another, and more positive approach toward further developing the differences in the perceptions of city vs. suburban living, is to evaluate the extent that various factors commonly associated residential location are individual viewed in terms of relative importance. The noteworthy differences are that those living farther (and presumably, less convenient) from the downtown office jobs, appear not to especially value any specific item, with the possible exception of convenience to work, Table IV-3.<sup>(25)</sup> Furthermore, it is of interest to note the striking similarity of the responses of those living in Boston and those living in the inner suburbs, confirming the existence of the preception by households of a definite urban vs. surburban distinction.

Even though those respondents living in the suburbs did not value any of the factors especially significant, notable differences in the distribution of emphasis between place of residence are indicated, the principal factor being "quality of public schools". Only 13 percent of those in Boston relative to 35 percent of those in the outer suburbs valued this factor as very important in their place of residence. Importance of this factor would reasonably associated with those households with children, which is indeed the case as indicated by 61 percent of those with children in the outer suburbs indicating that the quality of public schools was very important to them, Table IV-4.

---

(25) Although it must be admitted, that none of the specific items is a good surrogate for the suburban attributes of less crowding, more greenery, etc., prveiously discussed as reasons why non city residents preferred to live outside of Boston.

TABLE IV-3

OFFICE WORKERS BY THOSE INDICATING "VERY IMPORTANT"  
TO VARIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

<u>Factors Influencing Residential Location</u>	<u>Residential Location</u>				<u>All Locations Total (N=289)</u>
	<u>Boston (N=90)</u>	<u>Suburbs</u>			
		<u>Inner</u>	<u>Outer</u>	<u>Total</u>	
		<u>(N=57)</u>	<u>(N=142)</u>	<u>(N=199)</u>	
Safety of neighborhood	41.1%	45.6%	36.6%	39.2%	39.8%
Quality of public schools	13.3	19.3	34.5	30.1	24.9
Availability of parks	12.2	10.5	12.7	12.1	12.1
Proximity to shopping	36.7	38.6	23.9	28.1	30.8
Convenience to work	74.4	75.4	47.2	55.3	61.2
Proximity to firends, relatives	26.7	21.0	23.2	22.6	23.9
Amount of space, size of rooms	38.9	45.6	41.5	42.7	41.5
Arrangement, layout of rooms	18.9	19.3	26.0	24.1	22.5



TABLE IV-4  
OFFICE WORKERS LIVING IN THE OUTER SUBURBS BY THOSE INDICATING  
"VERY IMPORTANT" TO VARIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING RESIDENTIAL  
LOCATION AND BY PRESENCE OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

<u>Factors</u>	<u>With Children (N=67)</u>	<u>No Children (N=75)</u>	<u>Total (N=142)</u>
Safety of neighborhood	41.8%	32.0%	36.6%
Quality of public schools	61.2	13.3	35.9
Availability of parks	26.9	0.0	12.7
Proximity of shopping	26.9	21.3	23.9
Convenience to work	44.8	50.7	47.9
Proximity to friends, relatives	19.4	29.3	23.2
Amount of space, size of rooms	49.3	37.3	43.0
Arrangement, layout of rooms	26.9	26.7	26.8

### Previous Residence In Boston

A significant portion (43 percent) of the office worker households not living in Boston, had at a previous time, lived in Boston. This naturally raises a series of questions as to the existence of special characteristics of these workers or of their households and in particular what were their special reasons for why they moved from Boston?

There were no significant special characteristics found in either occupational grouping or in terms of the number of years ago that the respondent left the City of Boston, Table IV-5. The proportion of these households who formerly lived in Boston who are in the manager-professional occupations is distributed according to proportion of all those in this occupational grouping who live in the outside of Boston (about 50 percent).

If those who left Boston had a high proportion of households with children, this might be related to why these respondents left the city. However, this was not the case, with this group having households with children at a slightly lower rate (30.6 percent) relative to all those living outside of Boston (39.7 percent).

However, one characteristic was noteworthy and that is that almost 80 percent of those who had left Boston, had done so prior to age 35 years, Figure IV-1. As subsequently noted this may be related to several factors. One would be that some (17 percent) of these workers had left the city before reaching 20 years old, presumably leaving when their parents left. The other factors relate to that both family formation and rapid growth in household income occur in the 20-35 year range. Both are generally considered factors which affect mobility.

TABLE IV-5

OFFICE WORKERS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS,  
BY NUMBER OF YEARS AGO THAT WORKER MOVED FROM BOSTON,  
AND BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Manager &  
Professionals

<u>Number of years since left Boston</u> (N)	<u>Residential Location</u>		
	<u>Inner Suburbs</u> (13)	<u>Outer Suburbs</u> (28)	<u>Total All Locations</u> (41)
0-1	7.7%	0.0%	2.4%
1-2	15.4	3.6	7.3
2-3	15.4	0.0	4.9
3-4	7.7	10.7	9.7
4-5	0.0	3.6	2.4
5-6	0.0	0.0	0.0
6+	53.8	82.1	73.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Clerical and  
Other Occupations

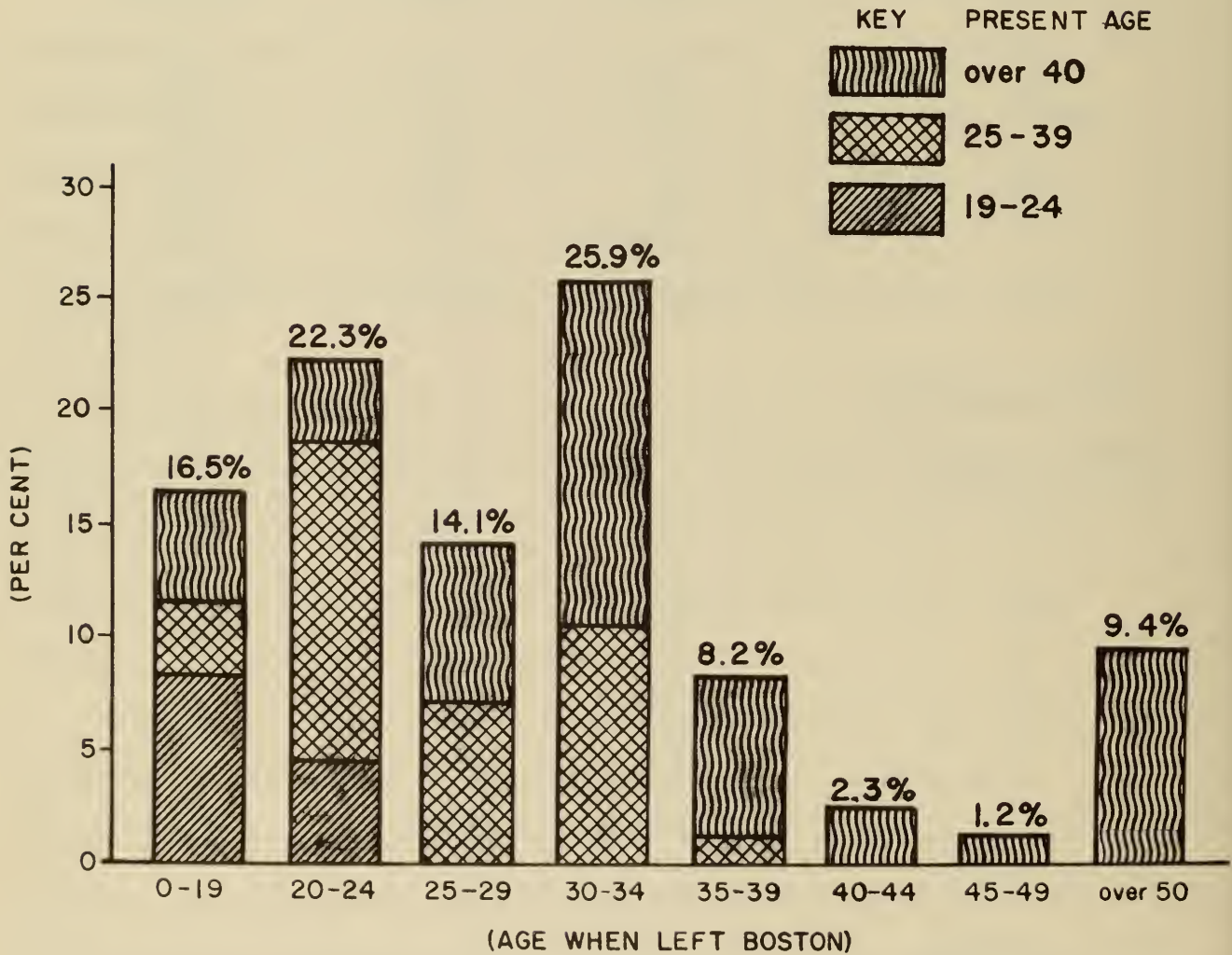
<u>Number of years since left Boston</u> (N)	(18)	(26)	(44)
0-1	5.5	3.8	4.5
1-2	16.7	15.4	15.9
2-3	5.5	11.5	9.1
3-4	5.5	0.0	2.2
4-5	0.0	11.5	6.8
5-6	11.1	7.7	9.1
6+	56.3	57.7	52.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

All Occupations

<u>Number of years since left Boston</u> (N)	(31)	(54)	(85)
0-1	6.5	1.9	3.5
1-2	16.1	9.3	11.8
2-3	9.7	5.5	7.0
3-4	6.5	5.5	5.9
4-5	0.0	7.4	4.7
5-6	6.5	3.7	4.7
6+	54.7	66.7	62.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

FIGURE IV - 1

**AGE OF RESPONDENTS,  
AT TIME OF MOVING FROM BOSTON**  
(SHOWING COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS' PRESENT AGE)



SOURCE: BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY,  
HOUSING TASK FORCE.

These observations are to some degree substantiated by the responses to the question: "what were the main reasons you moved out of the City of Boston", Table IV-6. More than half the reasons were in the category of changes directly affecting the individual respondent personally, such as change in family situation (marriage, divorce, etc.) or change in job or school.

It is also noteworthy that quality of municipal services (including public schools) was not shown to be a significant factor in prompting those who left the city, being cited only by 3 percent of those who moved from the city.



TABLE IV-6  
OFFICE WORKERS WHO AT ONE TIME HAD LIVED IN  
BOSTON BY REASONS CITED FOR LEAVING BOSTON

<u>Reason for Leaving Boston</u>	<u>Distribution</u> <u>%</u> <u>(N=70)</u>
<u>Personal</u>	
(Change in family status-married, divorced etc. or change in job, school etc.)	52.9
<u>Physical Environment</u>	
(Lack of natural amenities, trees hills etc.-noise, crowded)	12.9
<u>Social Environment</u>	
(Dislike of neighbors)	8.6
<u>Municipal Services</u>	
(Poor schools, street cleaning, parks, trash removal, police protection, etc.)	2.9
<u>Dwelling Unit</u>	
(Size problem)	10.0
<u>Tenure Change</u>	
(Want to own, rent)	5.7
<u>Economic</u>	
(High rents, taxes, cost of living, etc.)	7.1
TOTAL	100.1%

---

\* The question asked of those who had at a previous time lived in Boston was openended: "What were the main reasons you moved out of the City of Boston? Responses were grouped as shown.



## Potential For Downtown Housing Demand In Boston

One of the reasons for investigating the characteristics of the Boston office worker households living outside of Boston is to assess the potential for additional housing demand in the City of Boston. As noted, convenience to employment generally ranked high among office workers living in all areas. Beyond this common denominator, a range of other factors associated with both the availability (supply) and perceived need coupled with ability to pay balance (demand) act to determine where households ultimately choose to live. One of the clearest distinguishing features of office worker households living in and outside of Boston is the presence or absence of children in the households. Boston is clearly viewed as a place not to raise children, which, as was previously observed, does strongly indicate the need for major reform of Boston's school system, among other things.

Given the current school situation, which will undoubtedly persist for some time, the question is, what is the short term potential demand for housing in Boston, by downtown office workers? This is an extremely difficult question to answer in an overall sense for Boston as a whole, due to the varied nature of different neighborhoods and housing submarkets within the City. However, the downtown area of the city with high rise apartment buildings and increasing number of condominiums is a unique and clearly identifiable submarket. The results of a companion study of downtown high rise apartment residents and condominium dwellers shows the unique characteristics of this housing market.<sup>(26)</sup> These

---

(26) Boston's New High-Rise Apartments: A Study of the Residents and Their Preferences, BRA Research Department, January 1974.

households both highly value and act on a desire to live conveniently to downtown employment (as high rise office employees), do not have children, and do have relatively high household incomes (a median of approximately 15,000 per year).

An indication of the component of potential demand for employees of downtown office complexes may be determined from the proportion of those office workers which fall into the proceeding well bounded profile.

Table IV-7 shows the percent of all surveyed office workers, who do not have children, who do not live in Boston, and have income exceeding various indicated levels. This data suggests a large potential demand; for example approximately 20 percent of all the downtown office workers have household incomes exceeding \$15,000 per year and meet the other elements of the profile as well. A real indication of the attractiveness of centrally located high rise to those households outside of Boston is the fact that over fifty percent of the present high rise dwellers had moved in directly from outside the City of Boston.<sup>(27)</sup>

There are other factors which would ultimately determine the extent to which this potential demand is realized. These factors relate to the supply side of production of sufficient numbers of housing units attractive enough (in quality and price competitiveness) to tip the balance in the subjective urban vs. suburban preference equation of the potential demander households. It may be noted that in another sense, the expanding issues of environmental concern and pressures to reduce suburban growth rates plus the need to conserve scarce energy resources, all of

---

(27) A detailed demand analysis is presented in the Appendix to Chapter VI of Housing in Boston: Background Analysis and Program Directions, a Working Paper, BRA Research and Planning Departments, Housing Task Force, June, 1974.

which are forces which may well result in an improved transit system, also may act in the future to tip the balance in favor of the city as a place to live as well as to work.

TABLE IV-7  
OFFICE WORKERS, NOT LIVING IN BOSTON, WITHOUT CHILDREN  
AND WITH ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES EXCEEDING INDICATED AMOUNTS  
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL OFFICE WORKERS

Income	Percent of Workers With Income Greater Than Indicated
<hr/>	<hr/>
\$ 0	41.3%
8,000	34.3
10,000	29.8
12,000	25.8
15,000	19.5
18,000	13.3
20,000	10.3
25,000	4.5
30,000	1.8

## V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report deals with various aspects of the office employees; in terms of identifying both employment and residential implications for Boston, with the major emphasis on the latter.

To begin, new office towers do provide an important source of employment for Boston residents. Approximately one-third of the jobs in the new office towers are held by Boston residents, about the same proportion as that as all jobs in the City. The occupational match between the type of jobs provided in the office towers and the skills held by Boston residents is not perfect, however. The office jobs are occupationally distributed in the following proportions: 40 percent manager/professionals, 53 percent clericals, 4 percent sales and 3 percent in skilled and unskilled labor. By way of comparison, occupations of Boston's overall labor force are distributed in the following proportions: 22 percent manager/professionals, 27 percent clericals, 6 percent sales and 45 percent skilled and unskilled labor category. It is therefore apparent that the office towers do not provide jobs for a significant class of Boston residents, those in the less skilled labor category. On the other hand, as has been observed, the office towers do provide jobs which meet the skill levels of other Boston residents.

With the continuing shift to an office job based economy, the problem of matching Boston's labor force with appropriate skill level jobs is of crucial importance. Recognizing the complex and difficult nature of this problem, the city is tackling it in a number of ways.

Two basic approaches are now being employed to handle the problem of providing additional jobs for the less skilled labor category of the Boston resident labor force. One approach is to encourage develop-



ment of manufacturing and other jobs sources which typically hire a greater proportion of skilled and unskilled labor. Another approach is to change, via education and manpower training programs, the skill levels to correspond to the occupations needed by the firms in the office towers.

The residential impact of office building is important. By providing jobs with easy access to city residents, such development provides a positive incentive for these households to remain in the City. Jobs provided in office towers also serve to attract some middle and upper income households to the downtown housing market. This in turn contributes to the further strengthening and revitalization of this area of the city. On the other hand, the majority of the more affluent office worker households choose to live outside the city, as do the households with children. There appear to be a number of reasons why such households prefer not to live in Boston. However, the primary factor relates to a basic attitude and preference toward suburban living encompassing perhaps a combination of both reality and myth, a lack of crowding, abundance of open space, better public schools, and similar factors. An improvement in education quality in the city could have a dramatic effect on residential location preferences. How attitudes will change in the future, in the face of transportation and energy pressures coupled with the movement in many suburban areas to limit or stop growth, is an open question.

Some aspects of office tower development have been explored in this report, and other areas of research remain to be more fully investigated. However, based on the evidence to date, it appears that a city strategy aimed at encouraging such development has definite benefits to city residents, as well as to the people of the metropolitan region.



## APPENDIX A

### METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED: SURVEY OF OFFICE WORKERS

#### Introduction

This appendix presents the details of the methodology employed in conducting a survey of office workers in downtown Boston during January 1973.

The development of the survey questionnaire and research objectives was a joint effort of both representatives of the B.R.A. Research staff and the Survey Research Program. The Survey Research Program was responsible for the data collection procedures and the data processing.

The method of interviewing the sampled office employees was by telephone, during usual working hours, at their place of employment.

#### Pretest Interview

A principal concern was the length of the questionnaire because large scale interviewing of respondents while at work is a significant imposition that ought not to be abused by lengthy questioning. Twenty pre-test interviews were conducted by four experienced interviewers to test the time duration and clarity of the questions. The interviews averaged 12 minutes per interview which was deemed not excessive.

#### Sampling

The Boston Redevelopment Authority identified over 544 firms and agencies in new office buildings in downtown Boston with an estimate of 45,612 employees.\* The sample was designed to yield 300 interviews. Taking into account a response rate of 75 percent, the adjusted sample size was 400 employees. In case the method of simple random sampling

---

\* Refer to main text, Table I-1 for a list of buildings included in this survey.

had been used every 114th employee would have been selected and a correspondingly large number of firms would have been contacted. Through the method of cluster sampling the number of firms falling into the sample could be reduced to 47, thereby reducing the difficulty of sampling specific employees.

First, all firms were listed according to their estimated number of employees as either small firms with 50 employees or less, or as large firms with more than 50 employees.

One hundred ten firms were listed under large firms with a total number of 40,170 employees. Clusters of seven employees per firm required a sampling interval of  $(7 \times 114) = 798$ . Consequently every 798th employee's firm fell into the sample. A cumulative list of all employees was used for this procedure, and resulted in a selection of 31 large firms. In some very large firms two or more clusters could be selected, and every 798th employee became the first employee of a cluster of seven.

Three hundred thirty-six firms were listed as small firms with a total number of 5,395 employees. Clusters of three employees per small firm required a sampling interval of  $(3 \times 114) = 342$ . Every 342nd employee's firm fell into the sample and resulted in a list of 16 small firms, and every 342nd employee became the first of a cluster of three.

Then all selected firms were contacted by telephone. A letter explaining the survey and its purpose was subsequently mailed. Some firms returned a complete list of all their employees. Most large firms did not return this kind of information, but agreed that the sampling selection of employees was made from lists in their office by a Survey Research Program staff member.

In many cases the actual number of employees found per firm was quite different from the estimates. This was no surprise since the estimates were based on a standard ratio of employees per square ft., occupied per firm. Some firms fell completely out of the sample because of their much lesser number of employees than expected. Others were much larger and additional clusters were chosen at the original sampling rate for that particular firm. For instance in a small firm with an estimate of ten employees, a cluster of employees (number 5, 6 and 7) had to be selected. Instead of ten, 20 employees were found. This meant that a second cluster of employees (numbers 15, 16 and 17) would fall into the sample.

The population was defined as all full-time employees who occupied a desk or work location in the buildings included in the study.

### Interviewing

Four experienced Survey Research Program interviewers were trained to carry out this survey. Each interviewer received an assignment to cover sheets on which was indicated the name of the selected employee, the name and address of the firm and telephone number. Before any contact was made each respondent received a letter in advance explaining the survey. The interviewing was done entirely by telephone, usually at work, over a three week period.

### Reliability of Data

The clustering required to carry out the project means that the standard errors of percentage estimates based on the sample are higher than they would have been had a simple random sample design been used. Experience in calculating variances for samples of this sort indicates that it would be very conservative (i.e. safe) to assume that the standard errors were no more than 25 percent higher than those from a simple random sample.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE OFFICE WORKER SURVEY

3. Length of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_  
(minutes)

USE ABBREVIATIONS SHOWN ON NEXT PAGE.



USE FOLLOWING ABBREVIATIONS FOR RESULT IN CALL RECORD

RA	Respondent absent at time of call
Appt.	Appointment made for interview (give details under "comments")
Int.	Interview taken
Ref.	Refusal (give details under "comments")
PNI	Phone number incorrect (give details under "comments")
Oth	Other (give details under "comments")

---

USE THIS SPACE FOR COMMENTS  
(Show the number of the call to which each comment refers)



EMPLOYEE SURVEY

1. How long have you been working for \_\_\_\_\_ (COMPANY)?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (MONTHS) OR \_\_\_\_\_ (YEARS)
2. And how long have you worked at this particular office at (COMPANY)  
at this location?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (MONTHS) OR \_\_\_\_\_ (YEARS)
3. What kind of work do you do on your job? (Do you have a title?)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:  
  
R HAS WORKED FOR PRESENT EMPLOYER:  
☐ LESS THAN FIVE YEARS (ASK Q.5)  
☐ FIVE YEARS OR MORE (SKIP TO Q.7)
5. Before this job, were you working or doing something else?  
☐ WORKING (ASK Q.6)  
☐ SOMETHING ELSE (SKIP TO Q.7)
6. Where was the office where you worked then located?  
☐ CITY OF BOSTON (What part?) \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ OUTSIDE BOSTON: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. And now about your housing -

In what city or town is your home now?

☐ CITY OF BOSTON (On what street is that?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(STREET NAME AND NUMBER)

☐ OTHER THAN THE CITY OF BOSTON (SPECIFY CITY, TOWN)

8. How long have you been living at your present address?

\_\_\_\_\_(MONTHS) OR \_\_\_\_\_(YEARS)

9. What type of structure are you living in - is it a single family house, a two-family house, a three-family house, an apartment building or what?

☐ ONE-FAMILY

☐ TWO-FAMILY

☐ THREE-FAMILY

☐ APARTMENT BUILDING

☐ OTHER (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

10. Do you own this (house/apartment), are you buying it, renting it or what?

☐ OWNS

☐ BUYING

☐ RENTS

☐ OTHER (EXPLAIN): \_\_\_\_\_

11. How many rooms do you have in your (house/apartment)? (DO NOT INCLUDE: BATH, HALLS, FOYERS, PANTRIES, LAUNDRIES, OR OPEN PORCHES)

\_\_\_\_\_(NO. OF ROOMS)

12. And how many bedrooms?

\_\_\_\_\_(NO. OF BEDROOMS)

13. Now we would like you to think about the things that were important to you in deciding to live where you are living now.

For example, in deciding to move in your present (apartment/house) was ( ) very important, somewhat important or not important to you?

	<u>VERY IMPORTANT</u>	<u>SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT</u>	<u>NOT IMPORTANT</u>
a) Being in a safe neighborhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) The quality of public schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) The availability of parks and playgrounds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Being close to shopping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Being able to get to work easily	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Being close to friends and relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) The amount of space or size of rooms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) The arrangement or lay-out of rooms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Were there any other things not mentioned so far which were very important to you in making your decision to move into your present (house/apartment)?

☐ YES (ASK Q.15)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.16)

15. Which one(s)?

---



---



---

16. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

- ☐ RESPONDENT LIVES OUTSIDE THE CITY OF BOSTON (ASK Q.17)  
☐ RESPONDENT LIVES IN THE CITY OF BOSTON (SKIP TO Q.29)

17. Did you ever live in the city of Boston?

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.18)  
☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.20)

18. How long ago did you leave the city of Boston?

\_\_\_\_\_(MONTHS) \_\_\_\_\_(YEARS)

19. What were the main reasons you moved out of the city of Boston?

---

---

20. How likely is it that in the next year or two you will decide to move to the city of Boston - is it likely, or not very likely?

- ☐ LIKELY (ASK Q.21)  
☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q.22)

21. Why is that?

---

---

(SKIP TO Q.24)

22. Why is that?

---

---

23. Are there any changes you can think of that would make it more likely that you would want to move to Boston?

☐ NO

☐ YES (What are they?) \_\_\_\_\_

24. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

R LIVES IN CONDOMINIUM

☐ YES (SKIP TO Q.38)

☐ NO (ASK Q.25)

25. Many people these days are interested in buying an apartment or condominium. How likely is it that you, in the next few years, will decide to buy an apartment or condominium - is it likely, or not very likely?

☐ LIKELY (ASK Q.26)

☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q.28)

26. What is the main reason you would be interested in buying an apartment or condominium?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

27. Where would you most likely consider buying an apartment or condominium - in the city of Boston or outside of Boston?

☐ IN THE CITY OF BOSTON (What part?) \_\_\_\_\_

☐ OUTSIDE THE CITY OF BOSTON (SPECIFY TOWN, CITY) \_\_\_\_\_

(SKI  
Q.3

28. What is the main reason you would not be interested in buying an apartment or condominium in the Boston area?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(SKIP TO Q.38)

(RESPONDENTS LIVING IN THE CITY OF BOSTON)

29. How likely is it that you will move from the place you are living now in the next year or two -- is it very likely, fairly likely, or not very likely?

☐ VERY LIKELY

☐ FAIRLY LIKELY

(ASK Q.30)

☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q.33)

30. If you do move, what will be the main reason?

---



---



---

31. Where would you most likely move to?

(CITY, TOWN, PART OF BOSTON)

32. Would you most likely be owning or renting the place you move to if you decided to move?

☐ RENT

☐ OWN

☐ OTHER (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

33. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

R LIVES IN CONDOMINIUM IN BOSTON

☐ YES (SKIP TO Q.38)

☐ NO (ASK Q.34)



34. Many people these days are interested in buying an apartment or condominium. How likely is it that you, in the next few years, will decide to buy an apartment or condominium - is it likely or not very likely?

☐ LIKELY (ASK Q.35)

☐ NOT VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q.37)

35. What is the main reason you would be interested in buying an apartment or condominium?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

36. Where would you most likely consider buying an apartment or condominium - in the city of Boston or outside of Boston?

☐ IN THE CITY OF BOSTON (What part?) \_\_\_\_\_

☐ OUTSIDE THE CITY OF BOSTON (SPECIFY TOWN, CITY)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(SKIP TO Q.38)

37. What is the main reason you would not be interested in an apartment or condominium?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

38. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

SEX OF RESPONDENT

☐ MALE

☐ FEMALE

39. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your household or your family.

How many people are there in your household or family living with you or do you live alone?

☐ LIVE ALONE (SKIP TO Q.44)

\_\_\_\_\_ (NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD) (Does that include you?)

(INTERVIEWER: MAKE SURE R IS INCLUDED - ROOMERS WHO LIVE IN SEPARATE LIVING QUARTERS ARE NOT TO BE INCLUDED)

40. Are any of the persons living with you unrelated to you?

☐ YES (How many?) \_\_\_\_\_ (GO TO Q.41)

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.42)

41. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

RESPONDENT LIVES WITH UNRELATED PERSONS ONLY

☐ YES (SKIP TO Q.44)

☐ NO (ASK Q.42)

42. Who (else) lives with you - are they adults, 18 or older, or children, and how are they related to you?

	ADULTS 18 OR OLDER	CHILDREN UNDER 18
ENTER RELATIONSHIP TO R		

43. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

CHILDREN PRESENT

☐ YES (How old (is/are) the children?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ENTER AGES IN YEARS)

☐ NO

44. And in what year were you born?

\_\_\_\_\_(YEAR)

45. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

- ☐ R IS RENTER (ASK Q.46)
- ☐ R IS OWNER (SKIP TO Q.50)
- ☐ R IS NOT FINANCIALLY RESPONSIBLE - LIVES WITH PARENTS, ETC.  
(SKIP TO Q.51)

46. Including your rent and everything paid for utilities-- heat, electricity, gas, and water -- about how much does it cost to live in this (house/apartment) per month?

I will read a list of categories to you. Please tell me the category into which your monthly housing costs fall.

- ☐ LESS THAN \$100
- ☐ \$100 - \$200 ASK: Is it more or less than \$150?
  - ☐ \$150 OR LESS
  - ☐ MORE THAN \$150
- ☐ \$200 - \$300 ASK: Is it more or less than \$250?
  - ☐ \$250 OR LESS
  - ☐ MORE THAN \$250
- ☐ \$300 - \$400 ASK: Is it more or less than \$350?
  - ☐ \$350 OR LESS
  - ☐ MORE THAN \$350
- ☐ OVER \$400

47. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

- ☐ R LIVES WITH ANY UNRELATED PEOPLE (ASK Q.48)
  - ☐ R LIVES ONLY WITH OWN FAMILY OR  
RELATED PERSONS
  - ☐ R LIVES ALONE
- (SKIP TO Q.51)

48. You told me that your housing costs were between \$\_\_\_\_\_ and \$\_\_\_\_\_ per month. Do you only pay the total amount or do you pay a part of it?

- ☐ PAY TOTAL AMOUNT (SKIP TO Q.51)  
☐ PAY PART OF AMOUNT (ASK Q.49)

49. And about how much is your share?

\$\_\_\_\_\_ (SKIP TO Q.51)

(R OWNS)

50. How much do you think your home would be worth on the market today?

I will read a list of categories to you. Please tell me the category into which you think the sales price will fall.

- ☐ LESS THAN \$30,000    ASK: Is it more or less than \$25,000?  
☐ \$25,000 OR LESS  
☐ MORE THAN \$25,000
- ☐ \$30,000 - \$40,000    ASK: Is it more or less than \$35,000?  
☐ \$35,000 OR LESS  
☐ MORE THAN \$35,000
- ☐ \$40,000 - \$50,000    ASK: Is it more or less than \$45,000?  
☐ \$45,000 OR LESS  
☐ MORE THAN \$45,000
- ☐ \$50,000 - \$70,000    ASK: Is it more or less than \$60,000?  
☐ \$60,000 OR LESS  
☐ MORE THAN \$60,000
- ☐ OVER \$70,000

51. INTERVIEWER CHECK ONE:

NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

- ☐ R ONLY (SKIP TO Q.54)  
☐ R AND OTHERS (ASK Q.52)

52. Is there anyone else living with you who is presently employed, either full-time or part-time?

- ☐ YES (ASK Q.53)  
☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.54)

53. Where is (EACH PERSON'S) job located?

(IF BOSTON: What part of Boston?)

(IF OUTSIDE BOSTON: What city or town?)

(ENTER IN CHART BELOW)

54. What kind of transportation (do you/does (EACH PERSON) most often use to go to work each day? (ENTER IN CHART BELOW)

55. How long does it take (YOU/EACH PERSON) to go to work?

56. And how satisfied are you with commuting to work? Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, or not very satisfied?

	RESPONDENT	PERSON 1	PERSON 2
LOCATION			
MODE OF TRANSPORTATION			
TIME TO GET TO WORK IN MINUTES			
SATISFACTION WITH COMMUTING TO WORK	<input type="checkbox"/> VERY SATISFIED <input type="checkbox"/> FAIRLY SATISFIED <input type="checkbox"/> NOT VERY SATISFIED		

57. How many cars do you (and your family/household) own?

\_\_\_\_\_ (NO. OF CARS)

☐ NONE

58. Apart from going to work, how often do you go downtown Boston for shopping - once a week or more, few times a month, once a month, a few times a year or never?

☐ ONCE A WEEK OR MORE

☐ FEW TIMES A MONTH

☐ ONCE A MONTH

☐ A FEW TIMES A YEAR

☐ NEVER

59. And how often do you go to downtown Boston for entertainment - for such things as going to a movie, an opera, a play, a concert, a museum, or to eat out in restaurants, etc. - once a week or more, a few times a month, once a month, or less often?

☐ ONCE A WEEK OR MORE

☐ FEW TIMES A MONTH

☐ ONCE A MONTH

☐ LESS OFTEN



60. And now a final question.

I would like to know your total combined family income for 1972-- that is, yours, your\_\_\_\_('s) -- before deduction for taxes.

Please include all income received from sources such as social security, retirement benefits, disability benefits, investments, rent and so forth.

I will read a list of categories to you. Please tell me the category into which your annual income falls.

- A. ☐ LESS THAN \$10,000. ASK: Is it more or less than \$8,000?  
☐ LESS THAN \$8,000  
☐ MORE THAN \$8,000
- B. ☐ \$10,000-\$15,000 ASK: Is it more or less than \$12,000?  
☐ LESS THAN \$12,000  
☐ MORE THAN \$12,000
- C. ☐ \$15,000-\$20,000 ASK: Is it more or less than \$18,000?  
☐ LESS THAN \$18,000  
☐ MORE THAN \$18,000
- D. ☐ \$20,000-\$30,000 ASK: Is it more or less than \$25,000?  
☐ LESS THAN \$25,000  
☐ MORE THAN \$25,000
- E. ☐ OVER \$30,000

(END OF INTERVIEW)

TIME ENDED \_\_\_\_\_ AM  
PM



D31 BRA1

D31 Boston Redevelopment Auth.  
Bos Boston's new high-rise office  
Bos building.  
bu

